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ABSTRACT

A questionnaire dealing with sex role related household task performance was administered to 284 individuals who were randomly selected from the Memphis (Tennessee) City Directory. The questionnaire was designed to explore both attitudes regarding who "should" carry out 29 different household tasks, and who actually carried out each task in the households of the individuals interviewed. The worker categories included: woman, man, either sex, shared by both sexes, boy, girl, and all. Data were also collected on race, church affiliation, education and, in some cases, income. Sixty-three percent of the respondents were black and 37 percent were white. The results confirm that assumptions made by sociologists about sex roles are essentially valid: twenty out of 29 tasks have a modal response that assigns the task to one sex or another. There is some indication, however, that the women's movement has caused changed in sex role expectations, with both a smaller proportion of tasks being performed by only women (40 percent, as opposed to a 1968 estimate of 75-85 percent), and a significant proportion of tasks being shared by both sexes or all family members. (GC)

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THE SEX ASSUMPTION IN TASK ALLOCATION

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THE SEX ASSUMPTION IN TASK ALLOCATION

Introduction

> Traditionally there has been a clear cut division of tasks and responsibilities by gender within the family. The husband was the breadwinner, worked in the yard, did the repair work around the house, and the wife was housekeeper, cook, and nurse. (Hill, 1970:48)

In Hill's quote above, the term traditional is used to refer to what sociologists assume to be an accepted pattern of task allocation based on sex found within the typical American family. Many sociologists in their use of the term sex role use the concept without questioning the validity of the underlying assumptions supporting it. (See Landis, 1970:85; Fullerton, 1972:25; Fuchs, 1970:55; Stein, 1964:205). The assumptions remain relatively untested as do many other assumptions taken for granted by sociologists. Blake and Davis describe these taken-for-granted starting points as "explaining the known by the unknown, the specific by the unspecific..." (1964:463). Friedson makes the same point by saying that widespread consensus about a concept should not be mistaken for facts independent of consensus. (1972:214).

The past decade of activity by the Women's Movement has focused attention upon the equity of the assumed division of labor without questioning the validity of that assumed norm. Much of the literature involves the personal experience of an articulate writer (see Mainardi's "The Politics of Housework," 1971:113-119) which is generally provocative but does not provide aggregate data to support or refute assumptions about the norm of behavior. Movement spokespeople contend that women

have retained most or all of the homemaker-custodial role in spite of having acquired 40 percent, or almost half, of the breadwinner provider role.

There is ample evidence of women's move into the work force but little evidence about the fate of the tasks thought to make up the "traditional" homemaker-custodial role. What appears to be evidence upon examination often raises as many questions as it answers. For example, Ferris commented that two-fifths of American women over 14 years of age had responsibility for the care of their own children under 18 years of age. This would appear to mean that at least two-fifths of American women have retained the childcare segment of their custodial role. However Ferris raised doubt about his assertion by a further comment. He said, "'Responsibility'...merely means that the children were her own children and that she lived in the house with them." (1971: 532-533).

Another example can be seen in work done by Blood and Hamblin in 1958. They found that husbands of working wives had increased their participation in household tasks from 15 percent to 25 percent. (Blood, 1972:532-533). This lends support to the view that household tasks are the wife's arena of activity, or responsibility, since she takes care of 75 to 85 percent of the chores. Nevertheless, a rather different perspective can be presented by rephrasing Blood and Hamblin's assertion. One could say, "When the wife did not participate in the provider capacity, her husband, for some reason, helped her with 15 percent of her charge, however when she accepted 50 percent of the provider function, he reciprocated by accepting only 25 percent of her <u>former</u> assignment."

Another study by Blood in 1963 lends support to our assertion that there is a taken-for-granted quality about concepts concerning the allocation of tasks by sex. Blood says:

> ...Detroit husbands of working wives were more apt to do all the lawn-mowing and snow-shoveling since their wives were too busy to do such outside work. They helped their wives with such traditional feminine tasks as getting their own breakfasts, doing the evening dishes, and straightening up the living room when company was coming. They also took over a larger share of household repairs and grocery shopping. Only one task continued to be done by working wives as much as before--keeping track of the money and bills....
>
> Although husbands did more housework when their wives worked outside the home, the above shifts meant that they shared some tasks less with their wives (the traditionally masculine ones) while they shared feminine ones more....Both shifts symbolize the strain on couples when wives take outside employment. (1972:553).

It is clear that Blood does not assume that the sexual division of labor may have changed; i.e. that new roles may have emerged. He sees; instead, deviation from a norm which he calls "traditionally masculine" and "traditionally feminine." Snow-shoveling, and lawn-mowing are masculine. Getting breakfast, doing dishes, straightening up, and financial management are feminine. The statement does not make clear whether he considers household repairs and grocery shopping as masculine or feminine. One is also left to wonder what is meant by the "strain on couples when wives take outside employment." On the more positive side, Blood is to be commended for addressing himself to an area so taken for granted as to be almost considered trivial. (See Straus's comments about the importance of studying the "trivial,").

The intention of this research was to deal with the homemaker-custodial roles without assuming knowledge about to whom the task belonged. Assumptions were made in the choice of twenty nine tasks thought to be

performed regularly in the lives of most American households. The twenty-nine tasks included were:

1. minor electrical repairs
2. minor plumbing
3. furniture shopping
4. childcare
5. cooking
6. driving family car
7. gardening
8. bedmaking
9. dusting
10. washing floors
11. food shopping
12. washing family car
13. household clerical chores (paying bills, balancing checkbook)
14. lawn mowing
15. emptying garbage
16. washing diapers
17. social scheduling (remembering birthdays, anniversaries, etc.)
18. care of pets
19. sick child care
20. washing clothes
21. clothes shopping for family members using household funds
22. ironing
23. minor carpentry
24. buying a car
25. cleaning the bathroom
26. deciding what part of the city the family will live in
27. deciding what part of the country the family will live in
28. deciding when and if to have a baby
29. when funds are limited, who should get first choice to go to school

Eight possible workers or combinations of workers were proposed as the doers of these tasks. The worker categories included: woman, man, either sex, shared by both sexes, boy, girl, and all. Coding of completed forms yielded four additional coding categories: commercial, not applicable, children, and no answer. See Appendix A for the format of the presentation.

Impetus for this research came from a heated exchange with a colleague who proposed to use a deviancy model to explain the behavior of women engaged in the Women's Movement. The objections centered upon the validity of an assumption of deviance from a norm that was not known. Attention paid to the concept of norm and interaction with students' questions forced recognition that there were three normative patterns in need of examination.

The first pattern involved behavior; i.e. who actually performed the task. For this pattern, the question was asked:

Who does the task in your current life situation?

The second pattern involved the respondents' perceived view of the societal norm. For this pattern, the question was asked:

Who do most people think should do the task?

The third pattern involved the respondent's personal preference; i.e. his personal ideal norm. Blake and Davis point out that a purely private norm has no social significance since it is not shared. (1964:456) However the existence of widespread private norms, a condition of pluralistic ignorance, probably has a high potential for eventual social significance. For this pattern, the question was asked:

Who do you think should do the task?

If sociologists had been correct in their assumptions about the existence of a traditional masculine and a traditional feminine role, then it seemed reasonable to expect a high level of consensus from respondents about the perceived societal norm; i.e. who most people thought should do the tasks.

Further, if sociologists had been correct in their assumptions about the pressures brought about through internalization of the norms that force conformity in spite of individual inclinations or abilities, then it seemed reasonable to expect a high level of consensus about who was performing the tasks. However the behavioral norm could be expected to achieve less consensus than the perceived societal norm due to intervening circumstances such as the loss of a spouse, or economic straits, or "...as a result of assessing the consequences for nonconformity rather than 'internalization' of the norms...." (Blake and Davis, 1964:466).

Finally, if sociologists had been correct in their assumptions about early socialization resulting in the internalization of societal norms, then a high level of consensus could be expected among "personal"

preferences. Again consensus could be expected to be less than that for the societal norm due to circumstances such as imperfect socialization, personal rebellion, ignorance, or misunderstanding.

The use of questionnaires and interviews without concern for the interaction of interviewer and respondent has been severely criticized by Philips who said

> The respondent is influenced both by generalized norms and by what he perceives as the interviewer's beliefs and expectations (1972:104).

Philips described the usual attempt to deal with interaction as being no more than a comment to the effect that there is no wrong or right answer.

Although the questionnaire was not designed with Philips criticism in mind, it does at face value appear to have more potential for dealing with the contribution of generalized and personal norms hopefully allowing greater credence to be placed upon reports of behavioral norms.

Methodology

The first draft of the questionnaire was administered on the first day of a course labeled "Collective Behavior: The Women's Movement" prior to any discussion of the course content. The 57 students were then asked to critique the questionnaire for areas of confusion, ambiguity, disagreement, etc. Using the 57 critiques, the instrument was rewritten. These students collected data during the last ten days in May, 1973, after having been given classroom instruction on interviewing techniques, and after review of the rationale for keeping a sample random. The instrument was designed to be either self-administered

or to be interviewer administered in order to permit a choice for those who preferred to do their own reading and for those who disliked or were unable to do their own reading. This paper will deal with only a part of the instrument, the section dealing with the household tasks and the section dealing with the independent variables of age, marital status, education, church affiliation, and income.

The sample was drawn randomly from the Memphis City Directory by census tracts. The tracts are designated as "trade zones" which fall into five categories from high income to low income. All tracts within the city limits were sampled in a manner that would permit the assignment of at least one interview in each of the five income levels for every student. Three hundred and four addresses were drawn. Two hundred and eighty-four questionnaires (93 percent) were completed. There were no refusals. The only problems were created by buildings that had been recently wiped out by urban renewal.

Interviewers were instructed to alternate sexes and ages of respondents; i.e. if the first interview were with a male over 35, then the next interview, if at all possible, ought to have been with a female under 35. Interviewers were also to vary the time of day and day of week.

Findings

Alternating apparently worked well with ages, 47 percent of the respondents were under 35 and 53 percent were over 35. It did not work as well with sexes. Sixty-three percent of the respondents were female and 37 percent were male. This probably could have been avoided by requiring students to do an even number of interviews. Undergraduates were responsible for five interviews. It is likely that many began

their interviewing during the day with a housewife which would mean that their fifth interview would also be with a woman. Nonetheless the sample does not appear to have been overly weighted with housewives. About 36 percent of the entire sample did not work. Forty-two percent of the women did not work. Sixty percent of the men and twenty-six percent of the women worked to support themselves or worked as breadwinners.

Sixty-two percent of the respondents were living in a married state. Fifty-eight percent were married, three percent were living with someone and single, and less than one percent was divorced, widowed, or separated and living with someone. Seventeen percent were divorced, widowed or separated. Twenty percent were single.

Thirty-one percent of the sample had no children, seventeen percent had one child, nineteen percent had two children, eleven percent had three children, seven percent had 4 children, and eleven percent had five or more children.

Surprisingly for Memphis, a Bible Belt city, six percent categorized themselves as agnostic or atheistic. Seventy-one percent were Protestant, twelve percent were Catholic, and six percent were distributed among other religions.

The respondents were relatively well educated. Thirty-six percent had ten to twelve years of education. Only fifteen percent had less than ten years of education while seventeen percent had finished college or gone beyond. Twenty-four percent had had some college.

Income was the category where there was a discernable problem. Ten percent of the sample failed to answer the question. Another nine percent answered the question as not applicable. Thirty percent had incomes of less than five thousand dollars, thirty-five percent had

incomes between five thousand and fifteen thousand dollars, and sixteen percent had fifteen thousand dollars or more.

Blacks were overrepresented in the sample. Sixty-three percent were black and thirty-seven percent were white. This imbalance probably came about because the sample was drawn within the city limits of Memphis.

Having suggested that there was nothing particularly unusual about the respondents other than to say that women, Blacks, and Protestants were overrepresented, the responses to the task allocation questions can now be examined. Table 1 sorts the responses by percentages for the three normative patterns: a. the behavioral norm, b. the societal perception norm and c. the personal ideal norm. The patterns are in keeping with expectations that consensus would be highest for the societal perception norm and similar but lower for the other two norms.

The assumptions made by sociologists about sex roles apparently were essentially valid. Twenty out of twenty nine tasks have a modal response that assigns the task to one sex or the other. Thirteen of the tasks are allotted to females and seven are allotted to males. The tasks are presented with their rankings from highest chosen to lowest chosen in Table 2. There are some differences in rankings among the three sets of norms but their orders are rather similar. A surprising feature of the rankings is the position of the child care task and the sick child care task. They are both ranked rather low. Yet these are the tasks thought to be the crucial factor keeping women tied to the caretaker role (see O'Neil, 1969; Gilman, 1973:87). Blood phrases this idea strongly by saying "The mother-child relationship is still the core of the family." (1972:429). On the other hand Komarovsky's study of blue collar

Table 1

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSE PERCENTAGES GROUPED BY "DOER" FOR "BEHAVIORAL NORM "a" "SOCIETAL PERCEPTION "b" AND FOR "PERSONAL IDEAL NORM "c"

Task Number	Task Name		1 woman	2 man	3 either	4 both	5 boy	6 girl	7 all	8 com.	9 N/A	10 child	No Resp.	100% (N=284)
1	electrical repair	a	10.92	70.77	3.17	3.17	1.06	—	1.76	5.99	3.17	—	—	
		b	3.17	90.14	1.41	.70	.35	—	—	2.46	—	—	1.06	
		c	4.23	66.20	16.90	4.93	.35	—	—	—	—	—	7.39	
2	plumbing	a	6.69	73.24	1.76	3.17	1.06	—	1.06	8.80	3.52	.35	.35	
		b	1.41	85.92	2.82	.70	.35	—	1.06	5.63	.70	—	1.41	
		c	2.82	66.90	13.38	3.87	.35	.35	2.46	7.04	1.76	—	1.06	
3	furniture shopping	a	45.07	8.10	3.87	38.73	.70	—	.70	—	2.82	—	—	
		b	47.89	4.58	4.23	39.08	—	—	.70	—	1.76	—	1.76	
		c	32.39	3.17	7.75	50.00	—	.35	2.11	.35	2.46	.35	1.06	
4	child care	a	47.89	2.46	3.52	20.42	—	1.06	1.06	.35	20.42	—	2.82	
		b	68.66	2.46	4.23	14.79	—	1.06	1.06	.35	5.63	—	1.72	
		c	42.96	1.76	6.69	38.38	—	—	2.46	.70	5.63	—	1.41	
5	cooking	a	74.30	5.28	3.17	10.92	1.41	1.06	1.41	—	2.11	—	.35	
		b	85.21	3.17	4.23	4.23	—	—	1.76	—	.35	—	1.06	
		c	57.75	2.46	14.44	19.72	—	.35	3.17	1.06	—	.70	.35	
6	driving	a	13.73	29.92	10.92	28.52	1.41	—	4.58	.35	9.15	.35	1.06	
		b	12.32	30.63	14.44	32.75	1.06	—	4.93	—	2.82	—	1.06	
		c	6.69	20.42	17.96	42.25	.70	.35	6.34	.35	3.52	.35	1.06	
7	gardening	a	21.48	24.65	7.75	22.89	2.46	.35	2.46	1.06	14.08	.70	2.11	
		b	17.61	30.28	11.62	26.06	2.11	—	4.23	.70	5.28	—	2.11	
		c	11.97	13.73	16.90	39.08	2.46	.35	7.04	1.06	6.34	—	1.06	
8	bedmaking	a	71.43	5.28	3.17	10.21	1.06	.70	6.69	1.06	.35	—	.35	
		b	82.39	2.82	3.52	2.82	.35	1.41	4.58	.70	—	—	1.41	
		c	59.86	2.46	9.86	14.79	.35	1.06	9.86	.35	—	.35	1.06	
9	dusting	a	79.58	4.98	.70	4.23	.35	4.58	2.82	1.06	.35	1.06	.35	
		b	86.62	1.06	1.06	2.46	.35	3.87	2.46	.35	—	—	1.41	
		c	62.68	1.76	9.51	12.68	.35	3.87	6.34	1.06	.35	.70	.70	
10	floor washing	a	65.49	9.86	3.52	10.21	1.06	2.46	2.11	1.76	2.46	.35	.70	
		b	73.94	6.69	3.52	6.34	.70	1.76	2.11	1.41	1.41	—	2.11	
		c	47.89	10.56	13.03	17.96	.70	.70	4.58	2.46	.70	.35	1.06	
11	food shopping	a	63.73	8.10	5.99	16.90	—	1.06	2.11	—	2.11	—	—	
		b	71.48	4.23	5.99	14.44	.35	.70	1.76	—	—	—	1.06	
		c	47.89	2.82	13.38	29.58	1.06	.35	2.46	—	.70	1.06	.70	
12	car washing	a	8.45	48.94	3.52	10.56	5.28	1.06	4.23	4.93	10.92	.35	1.76	
		b	3.87	63.73	7.04	7.75	3.87	.35	3.87	1.76	4.23	.70	2.82	
		c	2.46	48.24	13.03	15.14	4.93	.70	7.39	3.17	3.52	.70	.70	
13	clerical & bills	a	47.89	36.34	3.87	13.73	.35	—	1.41	—	1.06	—	.35	
		b	29.23	39.79	10.56	14.79	—	—	1.41	.35	—	—	2.46	
		c	21.48	26.76	19.01	26.06	—	.70	2.46	.35	1.41	—	1.41	

Table 1 continued

Task Number	Task Name		1 woman	2 man	3 either	4 both	5 boy	6 girl	7 all	8 com.	9 N/A	10 child	No Resp.	100% (N=284)
14	lawns	a	7.75	58.80	2.11	4.93	8.45	1.06	3.87	1.41	10.56	1.06	.35	
		b	2.46	72.54	4.58	4.93	4.58	---	2.11	.35	5.28	1.76	1.41	
		c	3.17	57.04	11.27	8.10	7.04	.35	4.23	1.41	4.58	1.41	1.41	
15	garbage	a	25.70	31.69	6.34	10.56	13.73	3.17	3.52	.35	2.11	2.46	.35	
		b	16.55	43.66	7.39	9.15	9.15	1.76	4.58	.35	1.06	4.23	1.76	
		c	11.97	30.28	16.20	15.14	10.21	2.11	6.34	1.06	1.76	4.23	.70	
16	diapers	a	59.86	1.41	1.76	1.41	.35	1.06	1.06	1.41	28.17	.35	3.17	
		b	76.76	.70	1.76	2.11	---	1.76	1.76	1.06	11.62	---	2.46	
		c	60.92	1.41	7.04	10.56	.35	1.06	3.87	1.76	10.56	.35	2.11	
17	social	a	67.25	6.69	3.87	12.68	.35	1.76	2.11	.35	3.52	.35	1.06	
	sched.	b	70.42	3.87	4.93	11.97	---	1.76	4.93	.35	.70	---	1.06	
		c	48.59	3.17	9.51	26.41	---	2.46	7.04	1.06	.70	.35	.70	
18	pet	a	22.18	11.62	5.28	17.25	4.58	3.52	8.80	.35	23.24	2.11	1.06	
	care	b	22.89	10.92	11.27	20.07	5.28	2.11	10.92	1.06	8.10	3.52	3.87	
		c	14.08	9.51	9.15	29.58	5.28	1.06	14.44	1.76	9.51	3.17	2.46	
19	sick	a	50.35	.70	3.52	17.25	---	1.06	2.46	.35	22.18	---	2.11	
	child	b	64.08	1.41	3.87	17.61	---	.70	2.11	---	7.39	.70	2.11	
	care	c	44.37	.70	10.56	30.28	---	---	2.82	1.06	---	---	1.06	
20	washing	a	76.06	4.58	2.82	9.86	.35	---	1.76	1.76	.70	1.76	.35	
	clothes	b	82.75	1.76	4.23	5.28	.35	1.76	1.06	.35	.35	---	2.11	
		c	60.56	1.41	12.32	15.14	---	2.11	5.63	1.06	---	---	1.06	
21	clothes	a	62.68	4.58	4.23	17.96	---	.70	5.63	---	4.23	---	---	
	shopping	b	67.61	2.46	4.58	17.25	1.06	---	5.63	.35	1.06	---	1.41	
		c	40.49	2.82	11.97	31.34	.35	1.06	7.39	.70	2.82	---	1.06	
22	ironing	a	77.11	6.69	.70	3.52	1.41	2.46	1.76	2.11	3.17	---	1.06	
		b	83.10	3.52	1.76	1.41	1.06	2.46	2.11	.70	.70	.35	2.82	
		c	68.31	3.17	7.75	5.63	.35	3.52	5.99	1.41	1.41	.35	2.11	
23	carpentry	a	10.56	71.83	2.46	2.11	2.46	---	2.46	3.52	---	---	.35	
		b	3.52	82.04	2.46	2.11	2.11	---	2.11	2.11	2.11	---	1.41	
		c	3.87	70.42	8.10	6.69	1.41	.35	3.52	2.11	2.11	.35	1.06	
24	buying	a	12.32	39.44	3.87	31.69	.70	---	3.17	.35	7.39	---	1.06	
	car	b	4.23	45.07	4.58	37.68	.35	.35	3.17	---	2.46	.35	1.76	
		c	3.52	28.17	7.39	49.65	.70	1.41	4.93	.70	2.11	.35	1.06	
25	cleaning	a	68.66	7.75	2.82	9.15	1.06	2.11	3.52	1.06	2.82	---	.35	
	bathroom	b	77.82	4.58	2.82	5.28	.35	1.76	3.52	1.06	.70	.70	2.11	
		c	53.17	3.52	10.92	15.85	---	3.17	7.04	1.76	1.76	.35	1.76	
26	where to	a	14.44	26.76	3.87	44.72	---	---	2.46	.35	5.99	.35	1.06	
	live in	b	9.15	26.41	3.87	52.11	---	.35	2.82	.35	2.82	---	2.11	
	city	c	7.04	15.14	5.99	61.27	---	1.41	4.93	.35	2.82	---	1.06	
27	where to	a	10.92	33.10	3.52	37.68	---	.35	2.82	---	---	---	.70	
	live in	b	5.28	39.79	2.46	40.49	.35	---	4.23	---	4.58	---	2.82	
	country	c	3.52	27.46	5.63	50.00	---	1.06	4.58	---	4.93	---	2.82	
28	plan to	a	12.68	5.99	2.82	50.70	---	---	1.06	---	21.83	---	4.93	
	have baby	b	14.79	7.04	3.52	58.45	---	---	2.11	---	8.45	---	5.63	
		c	11.62	3.87	4.58	66.55	---	---	.70	.70	7.39	---	4.58	
29	who goes	a	7.39	36.97	6.69	5.28	9.51	2.11	2.11	---	19.72	---	7.39	
	to school	b	8.45	47.89	4.93	5.28	12.32	1.06	3.17	.35	6.69	2.11	7.75	
		c	6.34	39.44	12.32	11.97	9.15	.70	2.46	.35	5.99	2.82	8.45	

Table 2

PERCENT OF RESPONSES RANKED FROM HIGHEST PROPORTION CHOSEN TO LOWEST PROPORTION CHOSEN OF SEX SPECIFIC TASKS FOR BEHAVIORAL NORM "a," SOCIETAL PERCEPTION NORM "b," AND PERSONAL IDEAL NORM "b"

The numbers in parentheses represent ranking from the highest (1) to the lowest (13)

Women's Work				Men's Work			
Dusting	a	79.58	(1)	Plumbing	a	73.24	(1)
	b	86.62	(1)		b	85.92	(2)
	c	62.68	(2)		c	66.90	(2)
Ironing	a	77.11	(2)	Carpentry	a	71.83	(2)
	b	83.10	(3)		b	82.04	(3)
	c	68.31	(1)		c	70.42	(1)
Washing Clothes	a	76.06	(3)	Electrical repair	a	70.77	(3)
	b	82.75	(4)		b	90.14	(1)
	c	60.56	(4)		c	66.20	(3)
Cooking	a	74.30	(4)	Lawn mowing	a	58.80	(4)
	b	85.21	(2)		b	72.54	(4)
	c	57.75	(6)		c	57.04	(4)
Bedmaking	a	71.13	(5)	Car washing	a	48.94	(5)
	b	82.39	(5)		b	63.73	(5)
	c	59.86	(5)		c	48.24	(5)
Bathroom cleaning	a	68.66	(6)	Car buying	a	39.44	(6)
	b	77.82	(6)		b	45.07	(7)
	c	53.17	(7)		c	28.17	(7)
Social scheduling	a	67.25	(7)	Who gets schooling	a	36.97	(7)
	b	70.42	(10)		b	47.89	(6)
	c	45.59	(10)		c	39.44	(6)
Floor washing	a	65.49	(8)				
	b	73.94	(8)				
	c	47.89	(8)				
Food shopping	a	63.73	(9)				
	b	71.48	(9)				
	c	47.89	(8)				
Clothes shopping	a	62.68	(10)				
	b	67.61	(12)				
	c	40.49	(13)				

Table 2 continued

Women's Work			
Diaper washing	a	59.86	(11)
	b	76.76	(7)
	c	60.92	(3)
Sick Child care	a	50.35	(12)
	b	64.08	(13)
	c	44.37	(11)
Child care	a	47.89	(13)
	b	68.66	(11)
	c	42.96	(12)

marriages revealed that one third of the husbands helped with child care regularly thus her study portends the findings arrived at here (1964:50f.)

Only four of the nine "egalitarian" tasks as revealed by Table 1 leave any doubt about to whom the task would be assigned were it not shared. These four equivocal tasks are gardening, clerical chores, taking out the garbage, and deciding about having a baby. The five sex-linked tasks are furniture shopping, driving, pet care, decisions about the part of the city in which to live, and decisions about the part of the country in which to live.

Examination of the twenty sex-linked chores in relationship to the independent variables of age, marital status, education, and income revealed no consistent patterns. Seemingly the norms are so pervasive that they override other categorical differences. Examination of the egalitarian responses provided some possible patterns.

Table 3 presents a distribution of the behavioral norm as it relates to marital status. It would seem that being married provides a greater impetus toward egalitarianism. This may mean that the more egalitarian are more likely to get or stay married or it may mean that there is greater opportunity for egalitarian behavior within marriage. Since the behavioral norm asks the question "who does the task in your current life situation?" the data suggests that the unmarried are finding someone to share their tasks in spite of lesser opportunities.

Income and egalitarian patterns are presented in Table 4. Possibly sharing may become easier as income increases until it increases too much when clerical chores become less likely to be shared. Blood believed that bill paying was a feminine chore. The data in Table 1 does not support this position but Table 4 does lend it some credence.

Table 3

EGALITARIAN TASKS PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY TASK FOR "DOER" CATEGORIES "WOMAN" "MAN" AND "SHARED BY BOTH" FOR BEHAVIORAL NORM, RELATED TO MARITAL STATUS

Ques. No.	A Resp. Task	Response Category	N=56 Single	N=8 Living with someone	N=166 Married	N=29 Widowed	N=9 Divorced	N=11 Sep.	N=3 No Resp.	Response for total sample
3	furn.	W	53.57	50.00	40.36	44.83	44.44	72.73	33.33	45.07
	shop	M	7.14	12.50	7.23	17.24	11.11	—	—	8.10
		B	23.21	37.50	48.80	24.14	22.22	18.18	66.67	38.73
6	driving	W	12.50	12.50	8.43	27.59	22.22	45.05	33.33	13.73
		M	30.36	37.50	33.13	20.69	11.11	—	66.67	29.93
		B	19.64	25.00	37.35	13.79	11.11	9.09	—	28.52
7	garden	W	14.29	12.50	20.48	31.03	33.33	45.45	33.33	21.48
		M	19.64	12.50	25.30	34.48	11.11	18.18	33.33	24.65
		B	14.29	12.50	30.12	6.90	22.22	9.09	33.33	22.89
13	clerical	W	46.43	37.50	43.37	62.07	55.56	81.82	66.67	47.89
		M	26.79	25.00	36.14	24.14	33.33	—	33.32	36.34
		B	10.71	25.00	15.66	6.90	11.11	18.18	—	13.73
15	garbage	W	26.79	12.50	21.08	44.83	44.44	45.45	—	25.70
		M	28.57	25.00	32.53	31.03	44.44	9.09	100.00	31.69
		B	1.79	25.00	15.66	—	—	9.09	—	10.56
18	pets	W	16.07	25.00	22.29	41.38	11.11	9.09	—	22.18
		M	8.93	12.50	12.65	13.79	—	9.09	33.33	11.62
		B	14.29	25.00	20.48	3.45	22.22	18.18	—	17.25
26	where to live in city	W	14.29	12.50	7.23	41.38	33.33	45.45	—	14.44
		M	32.14	12.50	27.71	20.69	11.11	18.18	33.33	26.76
		B	23.21	50.00	57.23	24.14	22.22	36.36	66.67	44.72
27	where to live in country	W	8.93	12.50	3.61	37.93	22.22	45.45	—	10.92
		M	32.14	37.50	35.54	17.24	44.44	27.27	33.33	33.10
		B	23.00	12.50	48.80	20.69	11.11	18.18	66.67	37.68
28	when to have baby	W	3.57	12.50	13.86	17.24	22.22	18.18	—	12.68
		M	7.14	12.50	5.42	10.34	—	—	33.33	5.99
		B	28.57	62.50	62.65	27.59	44.44	45.45	66.67	50.70

Table 4

EGALITARIAN TASKS PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY TASK "DOER" CATEGORIES: "WOMAN," MAN, AND "SHARED BY BOTH" FOR BEHAVIORAL NORM, RELATED TO INCOME

Ques.	Task	Resp. Category	N=37 under 3,000	N=48 3,100 to 5,000	N=63 5,000 to 10,000	N=37 10,000 to 15,000	N=22 15,000 to 20,000	N=15 20,000 to 30,000	N=7 over 30,000	N=29 No response	Resp. for total sample
3	furn.	W	59.46	52.08	42.86	24.32	40.91	40.00	28.57	55.27	45.07
	shop.	M	10.81	8.33	7.94	8.11	4.55	---	14.29	8.07	8.10
		B	18.92	31.25	42.86	56.76	50.00	60.00	42.86	26.52	38.73
6	driving	W	21.62	25.00	7.94	8.11	13.64	13.33	---	13.56	13.73
		M	27.03	31.25	38.10	24.32	13.64	33.33	14.29	30.62	29.93
		B	2.70	18.75	26.98	51.35	50.00	40.00	42.86	30.39	28.52
7	gardening	W	27.03	18.75	20.63	18.92	9.09	26.67	28.57	24.95	21.48
		M	18.92	27.05	23.81	32.43	31.82	26.67	---	22.65	24.65
		B	16.22	10.42	30.16	24.32	31.82	33.33	42.86	17.74	22.89
13	clerical	W	54.05	52.08	49.21	35.14	54.55	53.33	---	51.97	47.89
		M	27.03	31.25	25.40	37.84	40.91	26.67	85.71	27.17	36.34
		B	8.11	10.42	20.63	21.62	---	13.33	14.29	12.07	13.73
15	garbage	W	27.03	27.08	25.40	21.62	22.73	20.00	28.57	24.14	25.70
		M	35.14	37.50	31.75	32.43	31.82	20.00	14.29	34.48	31.69
		B	---	4.17	14.29	18.92	9.09	13.33	---	10.34	10.56
18	pets	W	24.23	8.33	30.16	16.22	22.73	33.33	42.86	19.96	22.18
		M	13.51	12.50	11.11	8.11	18.18	13.33	---	22.42	11.62
		B	2.70	18.75	19.05	27.03	18.18	13.33	---	23.64	17.25
26	where to live in city	W	27.03	22.92	15.87	5.41	4.55	6.67	---	10.92	14.44
		M	27.03	35.42	25.40	13.51	18.18	26.67	57.14	25.63	26.76
		B	29.73	27.08	50.79	67.57	63.64	60.00	14.29	44.89	44.72
27	where to live in country	W	13.51	22.92	12.70	2.70	---	---	14.29	8.70	10.92
		M	40.54	37.50	34.92	27.03	31.82	33.33	42.86	25.20	33.70
		B	18.92	18.75	39.68	56.76	59.09	60.00	14.29	44.08	37.68
28	when to have baby	W	16.22	10.42	17.46	5.41	13.64	6.67	---	16.44	12.68
		M	5.41	12.50	1.59	2.70	4.55	20.00	14.29	6.90	5.99
		B	29.73	41.67	55.56	62.16	54.55	73.33	57.14	52.87	50.70

The willingness to be geographically mobile is tied into the American occupational system because unwillingness limits the potential for success. The law in general provides the husband with the right to decide where a domicile will be located. (See Kanowitz, 1969) Responses to questions concerning the locations of the family in city and country indicate that behavioral norms correspond with legal norms, but the data also suggests that there is a high likelihood that the decision will be a joint one. Table 4 suggests that the possibility for a joint decision rises with increasing income until income reaches a high level. At a high level of income, joint decision making appears to be reduced. This may simply be due to the small size of the sample.

Sociologists adopt conflicting stances related to age. Holter indicates that younger women are more traditional (1970:72) while van den Berghe believes the early years of marriage are more egalitarian. The data in Table 5 do not solve the conflict. They offer a slight indication that the 30 to 34 year olds may be more egalitarian.

It would seem logical to suppose that egalitarianism would increase with increasing education. Table 6 offers some slight support for this view but it certainly is not overwhelming support.

Returning attention to Table 1, the data here do seem to lend support to sociologist's long held assumptions about the division of labor into traditional roles. Yet one wonders why there is not some reflection of the ferment of the Women's Movement. Presentation of the data from another perspective as reflected in Table 7 hints that changes may have in fact taken place.

The purpose for Table 7 is to presume the possibility of an ideal type sex role. If there were perfect agreement among all

Table 5

EGALITARIAN TASKS PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY TASK FOR "DOER" CATEGORIES: "WOMAN" "MAN" AND "SHARED BY BOTH" FOR BEHAVIORAL NORM, RELATED TO AGE

Ques. No.	Task	Resp. Category	N=18 Under 20	N=48 20-24	N=37 25-29	N=28 30-34	N=21 35-39	N=22 40-44	Response for total sample
3	furn.	W	66.67	43.75	32.43	28.57	33.33	54.55	45.07
	shop.	M	---	4.17	8.11	---	9.52	9.09	8.10
		B	27.78	41.67	45.95	64.29	47.62	31.82	38.73
6	driving	W	---	8.33	5.41	10.71	23.81	22.73	13.73
		M	22.22	39.58	29.73	10.71	23.81	27.27	29.93
		B	22.22	20.83	37.84	42.86	33.33	22.73	28.52
7	garden.	W	11.11	20.83	18.92	28.57	14.29	22.73	21.48
		M	27.78	25.00	18.92	14.29	38.10	31.82	24.65
		B	16.67	16.67	27.03	32.14	85.71	13.64	22.89
13	clerical	W	55.56	47.92	29.73	50.00	42.86	54.55	47.89
		M	16.67	16.67	43.24	21.43	33.33	27.27	36.34
		B	22.22	22.92	13.51	21.43	14.29	13.64	13.73
15	garbage	W	22.22	25.00	18.92	32.14	9.52	13.64	25.70
		M	11.11	37.50	35.14	32.14	14.29	27.27	31.69
		B	5.56	10.42	24.32	3.57	4.76	---	10.56
18	pets	W	27.78	14.58	18.92	17.86	28.57	22.73	22.18
		M	5.56	14.58	5.41	14.29	14.29	18.18	11.62
		B	16.67	22.92	18.92	14.29	14.29	9.09	17.25
26	where to live in city	W	11.11	8.33	13.51	7.14	14.29	9.09	14.44
		M	16.67	22.92	29.73	10.71	28.57	45.45	26.76
		B	38.89	43.75	51.35	64.29	38.10	40.91	44.72
27	where to live in country	W	11.11	8.33	8.11	14.29	9.52	4.55	10.92
		M	27.78	22.92	35.14	21.43	33.33	45.45	33.10
		B	22.22	37.50	51.35	46.43	38.10	45.45	37.68
28	when to have baby	W	---	6.25	16.22	7.14	19.05	27.27	12.68
		M	5.56	8.33	---	3.57	4.76	13.64	5.99
		B	44.44	52.08	67.57	64.28	61.90	45.45	50.70

Table 5 continued

Ques. No.	Task	Resp. Category	N=24 45-49	N=21 50-54	N-14 55-59	60 over	N=2 No response	Response for Total Sample
3	furn.	W	8.33	57.14	57.14	53.06	50.00	45.07
	shop.	M	75.00	14.29	14.29	12.24	50.00	8.10
		B	4.17	28.57	21.43	26.53	—	38.73
6	driving	W	8.33	9.52	21.43	26.53	50.00	13.73
		M	20.83	47.62	42.86	30.61	—	29.93
		B	45.83	23.81	21.43	18.37	50.00	28.52
7	garden.	W	12.50	23.81	21.43	26.53	100.00	21.48
		M	25.00	19.05	28.57	32.65	—	24.65
		B	41.67	23.81	14.29	16.33	—	22.89
13	clerical	W	45.83	47.62	50.00	55.10	100.00	47.89
		M	45.83	38.10	50.00	34.69	—	36.34
		B	4.17	14.29	—	6.12	—	13.73
15	garbage	W	45.83	23.81	21.43	32.65	50.00	25.70
		M	25.00	38.10	42.86	36.73	—	31.69
		B	12.50	9.52	21.43	10.20	50.00	10.56
18	pets	W	20.83	38.10	7.14	26.53	50.00	22.18
		M	20.83	4.76	14.29	8.16	—	11.62
		B	20.83	9.52	21.43	18.37	—	17.25
26	where to	W	8.33	23.81	21.43	26.53	—	14.14
	live in	M	50.00	23.81	35.71	16.33	100.00	26.76
	city	B	37.50	38.10	35.71	46.94	—	44.72
27	where to	W	4.17	4.76	21.43	20.41	—	10.92
	live in	M	58.33	38.10	35.71	28.57	50.00	33.10
	country	B	29.17	38.10	14.29	34.69	—	37.68
28	when to	W	8.33	19.05	14.29	14.29	—	12.68
	have	M	4.17	9.52	7.14	4.08	50.00	5.99
	baby	B	62.50	42.86	42.86	30.61	—	50.70

Table 6

EGALITARIAN TASKS PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY TASK FOR "DOER" CATEGORIES "WOMAN," MAN, AND "SHARED BY BOTH" FOR BEHAVIORAL NORM, RELATED TO EDUCATION

Ques. No.	Task	Resp. Category	N=12 Grades 1-5	N=30 Grades 6-9	N=103 Grades 10-12	N=67 Some College	N=25 College Grad.	N=6 Some Grad.	Advanced Degrees	N=3 Still in School	N=7 No Resp.	Resp. in Total
3	furn.	W	33.33	63.33	55.34	28.36	44.00	28.57	50.00	100.00	42.86	45.07
	shop.	M	8.33	16.67	7.77	2.99	8.00	---	42.86	---	28.57	8.10
		B	33.33	16.67	31.07	61.19	32.00	71.48	78.57	---	28.57	38.73
6	driving	W	33.33	20.00	11.65	11.94	20.00	---	100.00	---	14.29	13.73
		M	25.00	40.00	31.07	23.88	32.00	28.57	39.28	66.67	28.57	29.93
		B	8.33	13.33	32.04	37.31	28.00	28.57	28.57	---	14.29	28.52
7	garden.	W	25.00	23.33	23.30	22.39	12.00	14.29	39.28	33.33	42.86	21.48
		M	16.67	26.67	27.18	22.39	20.00	42.86	39.28	66.67	---	24.65
		B	16.67	20.00	21.36	26.87	32.00	---	58.92	---	14.29	22.89
13	clerical	W	50.00	53.33	51.46	46.27	52.00	28.57	32.14	33.33	42.86	47.89
		M	41.67	36.67	25.24	28.36	40.00	14.29	52.38	66.67	28.57	31.34
		B	---	3.33	17.48	14.93	8.00	42.86	32.14	---	14.29	13.73
15	garbage	W	25.00	23.33	33.01	17.91	24.00	28.57	14.29	66.67	57.14	25.70
		M	50.00	30.00	24.27	37.31	40.00	14.29	42.85	33.33	42.86	31.69
		B	---	14.33	11.65	11.94	4.00	14.29	14.29	---	---	10.56
18	pets	W	8.33	16.67	26.21	19.40	24.00	42.86	38.10	---	42.86	22.18
		M	25.00	6.67	15.53	11.94	8.00	---	---	---	---	11.62
		B	16.67	16.67	13.59	26.87	16.00	14.29	32.14	66.67	---	17.25
26	where to live in city	W	14.29	26.67	18.45	7.46	12.00	---	---	---	14.29	14.44
		M	42.86	20.00	28.16	26.87	24.00	28.57	14.29	---	42.86	26.76
		B	28.57	40.00	44.66	53.73	40.00	57.14	46.43	100.00	---	44.72
27	where to live in country	W	16.67	13.33	10.68	10.45	4.00	---	32.14	---	28.57	10.92
		M	41.67	40.00	33.01	34.33	28.00	42.86	42.86	---	14.29	33.10
		B	16.67	20.00	40.78	40.30	48.00	42.86	32.14	100.00	---	37.68
28	when to have baby	W	16.67	33.33	17.48	7.46	---	---	50.00	66.67	---	12.68
		M	---	---	9.71	2.99	---	14.29	14.29	---	14.29	5.99
		B	58.33	26.67	46.60	61.19	68.00	---	78.57	---	71.43	50.70

Table 7

PERCENTAGE OF DOER CATEGORY SELECTED FROM MAXIMUM POSSIBLE RESPONSES FOR BEHAVIORAL NORM, SOCIETAL PERCEPTION NORM AND PERSONAL IDEAL NORM

Maximum possible responses that each and every respondent could have responded in the same way to a "doer" category.

	Behavioral	Societal Perception	Personal Ideal
No Ans.	1.76 (N=145)	2.30 (N=188)	1.82 (N=150)
Woman	39.37 (N=3,243)	41.10 (N=3,386)	29.05 (N=2,393)
Man	23.15 (N=1,907)	26.20 (N=2,156)	19.47 (N=1,604)
Either	3.84 (N=317)	5.00 (N=408)	11.12 (N=916)
Both	16.22 (N=1,336)	15.80 (N=1,301)	25.82 (N=2,126)
Boy	2.03 (N=168)	1.06 (N=130)	1.60 (N=131)
Girl	1.15 (N=95)	.90 (N=74)	1.06 (N=88)
All	2.79 (N=230)	2.90 (N=245)	4.92 (N=405)
Commercial	1.29 (N=107)	.80 (N=63)	1.22 (N=100)
Not Appl.	7.94 (N=651)	2.90 (N=245)	3.22 (N=266)
Children	.46 (N=38)	.50 (N=40)	.70 (N=57)
	100.00 (N=8,236)	100.00 (N=8,236)	100.00 (N=8,236)

respondents then each would choose the same doer for the task. Assuming the possibility of perfect agreement for each of the doer categories creates the possibility for 3,236 responses for each of those categories. Actual responses are compared in the table with the total possible responses.

Examination of the behavioral norm and the societal perception norm reveals that women are doing and are expected to do about 40 percent of the potential tasks. At first glance this appears to simply provide further credence to the traditional division of labor. However brief reflection casts doubt upon that position. If women are doing 40 percent of the tasks then 60 percent of the tasks are being done by doers other than the woman. If Blood's 1968 estimate of 75 to 85 percentage participation for women can be compared, then there is a likelihood that there has been a shift downward in her activity level. This has to be qualified by recognizing that the woman is a possible part of three of the other categories of doers: "either sex," "shared by both," and "all."

Given her less than 50 percent specified participation rate, the continued conceptual designation of the woman as the doer of these tasks needs to be explained. It can be explained by an analogy to winning an election. She wins the title by having a clear majority over all the other candidates.

A preference for egalitarian sharing becomes more evident in Table 7. There was a temptation to combine the doer categories of "either sex" and "shared by both" but conceptually their original purposes were separate. Either sex implies the androgynous view predicted for the future by Caroline Bird (1971). Shared by both implies a more or less equal division of labor. The personal ideal norm distribution is the only place in the data that Bird's prediction presents any degree of feasibility.

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APPENDIX A

EVERYDAY LIVING FOR MEN AND WOMEN

I. Daily Living: Who does what?

a. who does the task in your current life situation
b. who do most people think should do the task
c. who do you think should do the task

Are you living in a married situation _____ or a single one? _____

If you are living in a single situation, then some parts of the questions may not apply to you. In that case simply say "not applicable (N/A). In the parts of the questions that ask who should do the task, draw on what you expect to happen to you in the future, or what happened to you in the past, or simply what you observe in the world around you.

Those Who Might Do The Tasks

* (1) woman (2) man (3) either sex (4) shared by both (5) boy (6) girl (7) all

1. minor electrical repairs
   a. _____
   b. _____
   c. _____

2. minor plumbing
   a. _____
   b. _____
   c. _____

3. furniture shopping
   a. _____
   b. _____
   c. _____

4. childcare
   a. _____
   b. _____
   c. _____

5. cooking
   a. _____
   b. _____
   c. _____

6. driving family car
   a. _____
   b. _____
   c. _____

7. gardening
   a. _____
   b. _____
   c. _____

8. bedmaking
   a. _____
   b. _____
   c. _____

9. dusting
   a. _____
   b. _____
   c. _____

10. washing floors
    a. _____
    b. _____
    c. _____

11. food shopping
    a. _____
    b. _____
    c. _____

12. washing family car
    a. _____
    b. _____
    c. _____

*coding numbers not on the original instrument. Note: additional categories of (8) commercial (9) not applicable (10) children were added upon coding

13. household clerical chores (i.e. paying bills, balancing checkbook, etc.)
    a. _____
    b. _____
    c. _____

14. lawn mowing
    a. _____
    b. _____
    c. _____

15. emptying the garbage
    a. _____
    b. _____
    c. _____

16. washing diapers
    a. _____
    b. _____
    c. _____

17. social scheduling
    a. _____
    b. _____
    c. _____

18. care of pets
    a. _____
    b. _____
    c. _____

19. sick child care
    a. _____
    b. _____
    c. _____

20. washing clothes
    a. _____
    b. _____
    c. _____

21. clothes shopping for family members using household funds
    a. _____
    b. _____
    c. _____

22. ironing
    a. _____
    b. _____
    c. _____

23. minor carpentry
    a. _____
    b. _____
    c. _____

24. buying a car
    a. _____
    b. _____
    c. _____

25. cleaning the bathroom
    a. _____
    b. _____
    c. _____

26. deciding what part of the city the family will live in
    a. _____
    b. _____
    c. _____

27. deciding what part of the country the family will live in
    a. _____
    b. _____
    c. _____

28. deciding when and if to have a baby
    a. _____
    b. _____
    c. _____

29. when funds are limited, who should get first choice to go to school
    a. _____
    b. _____
    c. _____